

DEMOCRATS MUSSING UP THE U. S. SENATORIAL RACE

Judge Sam Priest, at the last moment, decided to enter the contest for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. His principal appeal to the people is that he is in favor of the "wet" side of the prohibition question and is against the League of Nations. Charles M. Hay, the able and aggressive "dry" leader, in view of Judge Priest's candidacy, felt it incumbent on himself to enter the race to combat the Judge's attitude on both of these issues. Their entry into the race is going to muss up things considerably in the Democratic party in this State, for they are both able men and convincing speakers and are sure to stir up bad feeling and cause no end of bitterness. They are both Democrats, of course, but neither of them appears to give any prominence to general Democratic principles, having but one idea, or rather two, in view. They are important issues, it is true, but it strikes us as a rather narrow gauge platform for men aspiring to the Senatorship.

Breckenridge Long has been for some time a recognized candidate for the Democratic nomination for Senator, and although a few of the political bosses have been endeavoring to induce some one who would suit their purpose better to come out against him, they had failed up to the last moment. The brewers and kickers against the eighteenth amendment, however, seem to have wielded a more effective influence in bringing out a man of Judge Priest's standing, though perhaps the close friendship existing between him and Senator Reed may have had something to do in the belated decision of the Judge to become a candidate. Approving of Reed's belligerent attitude on the nomination and election would be a great satisfaction to Mr. Reed and be considered by him as a vindication of his bitter fight against the League and President Wilson, for which the State Democratic Convention rebuked him in such a pronounced manner.

There never has been any question of Mr. Hay's recognition of Mr. Long as a man of eminent ability and in every way worthy of the nomination for Senator, for he so expressed himself when he decided to stay out of the race at the time Major Harry B. Hawes relinquished the idea of running on a "wet" platform; and while we admire Mr. Hay as an able, honest and fearless man, we cannot help feeling that it would have been a far wiser course on his part to have taken up the fight for Mr. Long against Judge Priest. He would have accomplished more for the cause on which his heart is set and made surer of defeating Judge Priest and the cause for which he stands, than he will be in a swift three-cornered fight with two other less-known side candidates who have imagined that the people are unduly interested in them.

The "wets" and anti-Leaguers—the Reed party wreckers—will line up solid for Judge Priest, while the "drys" and those favoring the League of Nations will naturally be split up between Mr. Hay and Mr. Long. With all his force and ability as a speaker and leader of the dry sentiment of the State, it is very questionable that Mr. Hay has done that cause a favor by entering the race for Senator under existing conditions. For, of course, Mr. Long's friends expect him to stay in the race. He cannot in justice to his friends and himself withdraw if he contemplated any such idea, and thus proclaim himself a quitter. His friends will stand by him, for he is in every way worthy of the position to which he aspires, and his experience in matters with which the United States Senate has to do, gained through his association with the Secretary of State's department, better equips him perhaps than either Judge Priest or Mr. Hay is equipped to deal with the delicate international questions that must come up for the Senate's consideration within the next few years.

And then he is not a candidate asking for the people's support on any single narrow-gauged idea, but stands on a broad, comprehensive platform of forward Democratic principles, as set forth in his initial announcement as a candidate. It is worth reading and considering, and we give it here:

"I believe in our form of government, in the orderly processes of law, in the maintenance of order and in the proper functioning of the agencies set up to effectuate the will of the people. Accordingly, I am opposed to violence—in action, in language, and in thought; in radicalism; and to any activities which have as their object interference with the operation of law. These principles are vital to the preservation of American Institutions.

"I am an advocate of clean politics, of fair elections, and of unrestricted exercise of suffrage by the qualified voters, for these things touch the very foundation of democratic government.

"I am a firm believer in the Federal Reserve Act, in the general provisions of the Eight Hour Law, in the Rural Credit System, in the rehabilitation of the Merchant Marine, in measures for improved marketing facilities for farm products, in the Child Labor Law, and in the many various other constructive achievements of the present federal administration, and I subscribe to the policies of Woodrow Wilson.

"I favored the war against Germany, believed devoutly in the justice of our cause, and did all I could in a responsible position to aid toward the glorious victory which the efforts of America secured.

"There are now pending before the two Houses of the present Congress measures providing that peace should be restored by treaty and that we should join the League of Nations in a step to prevent wars; that a budget system of governmental expenditures should be adopted; that taxes should be reduced; that all restrictions on legitimate business activities, made necessary by the war should be removed; that the

power of the federal government in dealing with dangerous and sedition radicalism may be strengthened, and that profiteering in food and clothing may be effectually prevented—all measures contributing to the peace, prosperity and prestige of America. The present Congress may act, but if these measures should not be disposed of, and I should be elected to the Senate, I would favor each of them, for without them labor cannot be steadily engaged, nor industry proceed, nor commerce thrive, nor the cost of life become normal.

"I believe that differences between capital and labor must be adjusted on a basis which will permanently settle the principles to guide them in future.

"In advocacy of these things, which I consider soundly Democratic, I consider that I favor those policies which will preserve our public institutions, contribute to our continued happiness and prosperity, and add glory and lustre to America."

THE YOKE BORNE WITH TOLERANCE

It must be plain to the average John Smith, business man or laborer, home owner or renter, good citizen, taxpayer, and voter at election times, that the part he is playing in the management and conduct of his city, state and nation is nothing to brag about. Things are done and he pays the bills. Officials he is supposed to select are chosen for him and put into office through procedure in which he does not participate. Funds are squandered and he provides more money to be squandered. Politicians pull him by the nose and he stands for it. Political machines ride over him and he gets up to be ridden over again.

In local, state and national affairs, this good citizen is a nonentity. He may talk much but he does little. He may tell his family at the dinner table that the country is going to the dogs, and he may pound the table when he says so, and fire may shoot from his eyes, but he makes no move to stop the slide to perdition. He may denounce corruption in politics to his cronies at luncheon, deplore this business of one man delivering a ward in an election, grow purple in denouncing against state-making and slush funds and machine delegates, but he will busy himself with his personal business and his lawn-mowing and tending the baby to say "daddy" and wait for the convention delegates and slate-makers to make voting easy for him. To cast a vote at election time is the great prerogative of his sovereign citizenship. He swells out his chest when he exercises it. There is a thrill in folding up the ballot and concealing the marks he has put on it. And the slate-makers and convention engineers and machine bosses sit back and chuckle at this good citizen who has marched into the polling place with the yoke about his neck, led in by a nose-ring.

It must be that this good citizen has had an opportunity to get a fairly accurate reflection of himself in the mirror which the Senate campaign investigating committee has been holding up in Washington these last few days. He has had the opportunity before, when matters in local administration and state administration have been given an airing. This good citizen who votes for mayors and governors and Senators and presidents must have come to some conclusion as to his part in selecting the men who succeed to those high offices, as he has learned how convention delegates are chosen and how state bosses and district bosses gather in conference and arrange to deliver the sovereign voters of districts and states to certain delegates. The sovereign voter of Missouri, for instance, must have a proud impression of the representation he will have in the Republican convention in Chicago next week. And as he has learned how the machine in St. Louis and Missouri operates, how the boys from the various districts are called in and given checks and sent out to "create" sentiment, how a state which was admitted to be totally tied up between Johnson and Wood sentiment became suddenly possessed of an overpowering Lowden sentiment, he must be proud of the sovereignty of his citizenship. The sovereign citizens of Missouri must be proud to learn that their sentiment is "created" by a conference or two among half a dozen "bosses" with a flood of checks as a tonic. It is exhilarating, indeed, this convenience which has been afforded good citizens, that they may awake in the morning to find that sentiment has been created for them, that a presidential favorite has been selected, that all they need do is go to the polls and vote.

What will the good citizen do about it? He has been bearing the yoke of machine politics patiently and tolerantly. Will he continue to bear it? Is it too much to expect him to throw it off and steer for himself? Is he to be contented with the reflection he has had of himself? Good citizens, heretofore, haven't done a great deal in matters of this kind. Perhaps they may do nothing even now. Perhaps the storm may blow over and all be left serene and calm for the bosses and machines. But the course a self-respecting citizen ought to take is clear. He has power he has never used. If he used it he could put machine politics, in all of its ramifications, out of business.—St. Louis Star.

THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Little attention needs to be paid to the assault upon the record of Congress made by Representative Garrett in the closing hours of the House session Saturday. It was the usual political speech. But the criticism of the session made by President Wilson in his reply to the brotherhood officials merits more consideration, since it is a criticism of one branch of the government by the head of a co-ordinate branch. There is discernible in it a tone of personal pique, which is quite natural in view of the long contest between the President and the Senate and the refusal of the lat-

ter to take the action the former insisted upon. Such a situation might well color the opinion held of the achievements of the entire session and determine the tone of comment upon it. It will be for the American people to decide the relatively responsibility of the Senate and the President for the evils which are flowing from the failure of the two to agree upon the official termination of the war and our future relations to other nations, for which, naturally, but not necessarily justly, the President holds the Senate responsible in his letter. A short review of the session reveals how unwarranted is a criticism of its acts based upon the failure of Congress to do exactly as the critic personally desired.

The first, or long, regular session of the Sixty-sixth Congress deserves credit for important legislation, in spite of the handicap of the controversy between the President and the Senate over the Versailles treaty, which of necessity had the effect of slowing up the work of that particular branch and affected that of the other house also. There has been much more or less demagogic talk about the responsibility of Congress for the prevailing high prices and a demand for some sort of indefinite legislation to put an end to them. Economists who study the fundamentals of the present prices do not suggest legislative remedies nor believe in their efficacy. We shall probably hear much of that sort of criticism, made for popular consumption. The fact is that Congress did enact legislation of a practical sort to achieve that end when it passed the railway bill and made provision for the settlement of wage disputes without the necessity of resorting to strikes. Nothing has done more to raise prices and maintain them at a high point than the industrial slowing down of the nation, due largely to the nationwide strikes and interruption, almost paralysis, of the nation's industrial and business life for many weeks. Legislation calculated to put an end to such interruptions of our production and distribution activities is constructive of the highest character and bound to exert a strong influence upon prices, both to stop their ascent and to create general conditions under which they should begin to descend. Another important constructive act is the merchant marine bill, under which a great marine under the American flag is to be created, fostering our foreign commerce and thereby promoting our industrial activity and the general prosperity of the nation. Still others are the water power act, which, however, the President failed to sign, the oil leasing act, the Edge bill for promoting export trade, the rivers and harbors bill with special provision for developing facilities for barge traffic on the rivers to relieve railroad congestion. All these enter directly into the fundamentals of the present high prices and are constructive in the highest degree. Direct efforts to reach high food prices made in the cold storage and the meat packing regulation acts failed, but such legislation is at the best only paralytic and regulatory and does not reach fundamental conditions, yet it is of the character demagogues talk the most about as the panacea for our high cost of living evil. Congress is rather to be congratulated that it did not enter upon a campaign of futile legislation for demagogic purposes.

Other constructive measures not affecting the matter of prices were the army regulation bill, the postal wage increase bill, the measure excluding anarchists, the industrial vocational rehabilitation act, the appropriations for the maintenance of all the departments and many others covering a wide range of subjects. Two very important measures calculated to work great economies in national expenditure were voted by the President too late to be either remodeled or passed over the veto. These are the budget act, which Congress has been dealing with for the past twelve years and which was estimated to be capable of saving several hundred millions of dollars annually, and the resolution abolished a large number of wartime boards and commissions, laws and proclamations under which great expense is still being incurred and through which there is interference with getting back to normal conditions.

No session of any Congress has ever enacted all the important measures that have been crowded upon it for attention. Many have legislated constructively upon few of them. The session just closed, in view of the paralyzing effect of the existence of a Congress of one political party and a President of another, which it will no doubt continue in the short session which will begin next December, bringing to fruition other measures in process of being crystallized into law. That will be its task until the fourth of next March, when its own term will expire by limitation, and the Representatives and Senators elected next November will constitute the Sixty-seventh Congress, to meet first in December, 1921, unless sooner convened in extraordinary session by the newly elected President.—Globe-Democrat.

THE PARTY OR THE BOSSES?

What is the Republican party in Missouri? Who is the Republican party in Missouri? Is it one man, is it a little group of men, or is it the 400,000 or more citizens or the state who vote the Republican ticket? These questions are raised by the developments of the past week. They have been raised before, and often in the minds of those who think more of party achievements than of party prerequisites, but they are impressed upon us now by the revelation of political processes are ordinarily invisible. Parties are essential in a democracy. They are necessary both for the expression and the application of public opinion to public affairs. And party organization is required to consolidate voters for the achievement of common purposes. Theoretically, the party committee is a representative body chosen by the voters for the work of preparing for elections. Theoretically, it has nothing to do with policies nor with candidates, save to provide for the expression of the one and to aid in the election of the other.

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As an agency to these ends it has important and necessary functions. But when it presumes to dictate public policies and to select candidates it is usurping the powers which should rest alone in the people composing the party, or in the representatives chosen by them for these specific tasks. And real party usefulness in the promotion of the public welfare, which is the sole justifiable reason for party existence, is bound to decline just in proportion to its surrender to the dictates of such organization, or, more specifically, of party bosses within the organization.

The investigation at Washington has disclosed the fact that \$38,000 was sent into Missouri to secure a delegation to the Republican convention at Chicago "friendly to Lowden". It is not denied that a delegation was elected that is "friendly to Lowden". Whether this is cause and effect we do not pretend to say. Nor do we assert that any of this money has been corruptly used. We know of no reason why the delegates should not be friendly to Lowden if they really favor him. But the fact remains that the delegation is, or was, practically unanimous for Gov. Lowden. The delegation in this position is not properly representative of the party in Missouri, for there is no such unanimity of opinion among the voters. Gov. Lowden has many friends in this State, but so, too, has Gen. Wood, so has Johnson, and so has Hoover. But at the State convention, and in nearly every district, delegates were chosen who were known to be friendly to Lowden, who were, at least for the greater part, chosen because they were friendly to him. By means of secret political manipulation certain party bosses arranged to deliver the State vote to a single candidate regardless of the views of the people of the State. There were no instructions from the conventions, but the delegates are, or were, for Lowden. And they are, or were, for Lowden because these influences set to work to make it sure that delegates would be elected who would be for Lowden. We think it is safe to say that if uninterested delegates had been elected without such influences, some would have been for one candidate, some for another, and some, perhaps, for still another.

This is but an example of the way in which power that belongs to the people, or to their representatives chosen for specific purposes, is continually usurped and exercised in Missouri by a few men. It is the case in both parties, but it is the Republican party that now is under consideration. This party in Missouri is dominated by a political oligarchy, composed of a handful of party bosses who are not representatives of the people, but who maintain and exercise their power through the party committees. The large Republican vote of the city gives St. Louis a predominant position in the party of Missouri; three or four men in St. Louis not only control Republican politics in the city, but virtually control the party in the State. They, with a few others from outside

the city, are in effect the Republican party in Missouri. They make up their "slates" for city and State, and their workers are put into the field to make sure that the candidates they select are nominated. It is generally recognized that if a man wants to run for public office he must have the support of "the organization," which means this little group of men, or he can have small chance of success. This prevents many excellent men from seeking office. "No matter how careful you are about the selection of candidates," complained Mr. Schmoll the other day, "somebody is always ready to hop on you." He and his associates can not or will not grasp the fact that the objections are to their assumption of authority to make selections. The principle of the national committee, as it is so well expressed by Mr. Hays, is that "it is the business of the committee to elect, not to select." It is the business, and the supreme right, of the people to select their own candidates, freely and without hindrance, but they are prevented from exercising their rights in this fundamental matter by the usurpation of party bosses. It is the proper function of the organization to bring out the voters for the election of party candidates whom the people have nominated. When it assumes the authority to dictate nominations, and even to declare policies, it is arrogating to itself a power which does not belong to it, and which lays a destructive axe at the very roots of democracy.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

JOAN OF ARC

Joan of Arc is no longer a national heroine of the French exclusively. Thousands of doughboys, passing through Domremy, went to the small, cell-like room in the humble home where she saw visions, knelt at prayer in the little church across the road where she was baptized, looked over the meadows where the sheep still graze as when she tended them.

Other thousands visited the mute and desolated but still glorious fane of Rheims where Joan stood, standard in hand, by the altar when the Dauphin because of her was crowned King Charles VII. Still others passed repeatedly through the Place du Vieux Marche at Rouen where the saint in 1431 was burned. The chivalrous spirit of the American "crusaders" gave them to feel that they had come into the world too late; they wished they had been on the scene five centuries before to stay the hands of those who piled the fagots and kindled them about the immortal maid. One of the songs most frequently sung in war-time, both in France and here, was a song of tribute that turned to music the sentiment evoked among Americans by the memory of the martyr shepherdess.

For these and other reasons the belated canonization of Joan of Arc is heartily approved in America. The life and the heart of nations has been touched by the career of the peasant who heard and saw the angels, as "Emperors in their pride" have striv-

en in vain to stir the imaginations and the souls of men. An allegiance has been accorded her that no sovereign by so-called "right divine" could have commanded. The secret of the power of her life was its unselfishness. She did not strive for herself to gain the queenly crown. She unsheathed the sword to enthrone her sovereign lord and to redeem his tottering dominion over France. Beside her devotion and her loyalty his periphery establishes him as one of the outstanding pillars of human history. The fame of Joan is secure and the aureole about her brow was there before the ceremony at St. Peter's vast basilica to which the pilgrims from every quarter streamed in reverence and praise.

There is no such thing as a naturally bad child and when you find a bad one, you have to look back no farther for the cause than its immediate parents.

Human nature hasn't changed much in a thousand years but some people think they can change it over night.

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KANSAS CITY, Mo.—"For some time I suffered with kidney trouble, also rheumatism. My back bothered me mornings so it was difficult for me to arise. The rheumatism seemed to be muscular, as my muscles would be sore and stiff most of the time. I doctored for these ailments but without relief. At last I saw Dr. Pierce's Anuric advertised. Knowing that his other medicines were good I got it at once. Before I had taken all of two bottles my rheumatism had entirely left me and I was feeling better than I had for some time past. I found this medicine even better than it is recommended to be."—OTTO BERMAN, No. 244 North Hardy Street.